

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-07

NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00

DODE-00 H-01 NSC-05 OMB-01 EB-08 SIL-01 LAB-04

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FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9915

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY OSLO OPUP

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

USMISSION NATO

USEC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 3115

E.O.11652:XGDS-1

TAGS: PINT, SP

SUBJECT: PSOE SEC GEN FELIPE GONZALEZ ON CURRENT SITUATION

SUMMARY GONZALEZ VIEWS SHRILL ANTI SUAREZ RHETORIC OF AL-
IANZA POPULAR AS HAVING ENSURED THAT SUAREZ AP RELATIONSHIP
WILL BE ADVERSARY ONE. SUAREZ US VISIT SHOULD HELP
TO CALM MILITARY, BUT WILL ALSO GIVE PRIME MINISTER OPPORTUNITY
TO PRESENT PRESIDENT A SELF INTERESTED INTERPRETEATION
OF SPANISH POLITICAL SITUATION. PSOE CONTINUES CON-
CERNED THAT SUAREZ MAY ATTEMPT TO BUILD "INSTITUTIONAL
PARTY" BY AUTHORITARIAN MEANS, BEANS, BUT DOES NOT CONSIDER CURRENT
DIFFERENCES IRRECONCILABLE. GONZALEZ EMPHASIZED
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NEED FOR WRITING ENTIRELY NEW CONSTITUTION AND HAD PARTICULARLY
HARSH WORDS FOR PCE. END SUMMARY.

1. AN UNUSUALLY ANIMATED AND RELAZED FELIPE GONZALEZ, UN-
ACCOMPANIED BY OTHER PARTY LEADERS CAME TO SEE ME AT THE
RESIDENCE EVENING APRIL 21 AT MY INVITATION. DURING A
WIDE RANGING POLITICAL TOUR D' HORIZON, HE MADE THE FOLLOWING

PRINCIPAL POINTS.

2. PCE LEGALIZATION CRISIS MILITARY REACTION HAS TAILED OFF, BUT TENSIONS WILL PERSIST FOR SOME TIME. FRAGA'S ALIANZA POPULAR (AP), THROUGH ITS DANGEROUSLY SHRILL ATTACK ON THE GOVT DECISION ATTEMPTED TO EXACERBATE THE MILITARY REACTION IN ORDER TO WEAKEN SUAREZ POLITICAL POSITION AND EVEN SECURE HIS REPLACEMENT BY SOMEONE MORE FAVORABLY DISPOSED TO AP. GONZALEZ VIEWED THIS CONFRONTATION AS THE "POINT OF NO RETURN" BETWEEN SUAREZ AND AP. ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT RULE OUT A POST ELECTION RESTRUCTURING OF AP TO BRING ITS MORE PROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS INTO A PARLIAMENTARY COALITION OF THE CENTER. I EMPHASIZED TO GONZALEZ, AS I HAVE TO OTHERS, THAT ANY MILITARY COUP WOULD BE DISASTROUS FOR US SPAIN RELATIONS. THE SUG SUPPORTED THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS, AND A RETURN TO THE PAST WOULD CREATE VERY SERIOUS PROBLEMS FOR US.

3. SUAREZ US VISIT: GONZALEZ PLANS, SUAREZ US TRIP WOULD HELP TO CALM THE MILITARY, AS WOULD THE KING'S CURRENT GERMAN VISIT AND THE COMING TO SPAIN OF PORTUGUESE PRESIDENT EANES. ON THE OTHER HAND, SUAREZ ALSO WOULD USE HIS MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT TO PRESENT A SELF INTERESTED INTERPRETATION OF THE SPANISH POLITICAL SITUATION. AS FOR HIS OWN TRAVEL PLANS, GONZALEZ EXPRESSED THE DESIRE TO GO TO THE US AT SOME UNSPECIFIED FUTURE TIME. (HE ADDED THAT NEW SOVIET AMBASSADOR BOGOMOLOV ALREADY HAD TENDERED AN INVITATION FOR HIM TO

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VISIT THE SOVIET UNION, BUT HE HAD TURNED IT ASIDE FOR THE TIME BEING AS HE WOULD FIRST PREFER TO VISIT THE US, WHICH WOULD INDEED BE A NEW DEPARTURE IN PSOE POLICY). I TOLD GONZALEZ THAT, IN THE RUN UP TO ELECTIONS, WE DID NOT FEEL IT APPROPRAITE TO "INVITE" HIM OR ANY OTHER PARTY LEADER TO THE US, BUT THAT IF HE DEISRED TO GO ON HIS OWN WE WOULD BE HAPPY TO HELP WITH APPOINTMENTS AT THE DEPT. ON THE HILL AND WITH THE PRESS, AS WE HAD DONE FOR THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS. I ALSO EXPLAINED TO HIM THAT HE SHOULD NOT EXPECT A MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT OR VICE PRESIDENT.

4. GOVT PSOE RELATIOS, THE PSOE HAD TAKEN A TOUGHER LINE WITH THE GOVT PARTLY BECAUSE OF THELEGALIZATION OF THE PSOE-H (MADRID 1496) BUT MORE OUT OF CONCERN THAT SUAREZ HAD SUCCUMBED TO THE "MEXICAN TEMPTATION" TO CREATE BY AUTHORITARIAN MEANS A GOVT BACKED AND CONTROL LED "INSTITUTIONAL PARTYZ IN THE CENTER WHICH WOULD STRAMROLLER BOTH RIGHT AND LEFT IN THE LECTIONS AND

UNDERMINE THE LEGITIMACY OF THE CONTEST IN THE PROCESS.
GONZALEZ DEEMED IT UNNECESSARY AND UNWISE FOR AUREZ TO RUN
AS A CANDIDATE, SINCE HE COULD GUARANTEE THE CENTER A SIGNIFICANT
NUMBER OF PARLIAMENTARY SEATS (AND PREVENT POLARIZATION)
SIMPLY BY HIS PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THAT POLITICAL OPTION
WITHOUT DESCENDING INTO THE FRAY OR USING THE INSTRUMENTS
OF GOVT TO PROMOTE THE CENTER. SUAREZ POSSIBLE PRESENTATION
AS A CANDIDATE HOWEVER, WAS NOT NEARLY AS IMPORTANT
AS THE MANNER IN WHICH HE DID SO. GONZALEZ CHARACTERIZED
SUAREZ AS TOO CONVERNED WITH SHORT TERM GOALS AT THE POSSIBLE
EXPENSE OF LONGER TERM OBJECTIVES, AND AS OVERLY IMPRESSED
WITH OWN POPULARITY, WHICH THOUGH REAL WAS EPHEMERAL AND
NOT DEEPLY ROOTED. EVEN SO, HE DID NOT CONSIDER THEIR
DIFFERENCES IRRECONCILABLE SAW "NO ALTERNATIVE" TO SUAREZ.
CONTINUATION IN OFFICE AFTER ELECTIONS AND VIEWED HIS
ABILITY TO GOVERN EFFECTIVELY TO DEPEND ON AN "UNDERSTANDING"
WITH THE " MODERATE" PARTIES-- VENTRO DEMOCRATICO THE
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CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS, AND THE PSOE. THERE WAS ALSO A POSSIBILITY
THAT SUAREZ MIGHT ATTRACT SOME MEMBERS OF THE ALIANZA
POPULAR WHO BELONG TO UDPE OF WHICH SUAREZ WAS THE FIRST
PRESIDENT.

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MADRID 3115

E.O.11652:YGDS-1
TAGS: PINT, SP
SUBJECT: PSOE SEC GEN FELIPE GONZALEZ ON CURRENT SITUATION

5. ISSUES: THE MONARCHY AND NATIONAL UNITY. THE KING AND SUAREZ WERE ATTEMPTING TO ENSURE THAT THE CONSTITUENT CORTES (PARLIAMENT) WOULD BLINK THESE TWO MAJOR QUESTIONS. GONZALEZ CONSIDERED THIS A SERIOUS MISTAKE. HE VIEWS THE CENTRAL ISSUE IN THE ELECTION TO BE THE ELABORATION OF A NEW DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION (AS OPPOSED TO REFORMING FRANCO'S BASIC LAWS). AN EXERCISE IN WHICH THESE TWO QUESTION WOULD HAVE TO BE CONSIDERED. ONLY BY ARRIVING AT A DEMOCRATIC CONSENSUS ON THESE AND SIMILAR ISSUES
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COULD THE BASIS BE ESTABLISHED FOR A SHORT TERM "ECONOMIC PACT" TO ADDRESS THE COUNTRY'S WORSENING PROBLEMS AND FOR LONGER TERM POLITICAL STABILITY. MOREOVER, GONZALEZ FIRMLY BELIEVED THAT THE OUTCOME WOULD BE PRECISELY WHAT THE KING AND SUAREZ SEEK.
THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE AND "PROBABLY 75 PER CENT OF THE NEW CORTES WILL SUPPORT THE MONARCHY. THE FIRST PROVISION OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION TO BE DEBATED COULD BE THE ONE PROVIDING FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY WHICH GONZALEZ BELIEVED WOULD BE APPROVED EASILY AFTER BRIEF AND MODERATE DEBATE. HE WOULD VOTE FOR A REPUBLIC AS LEADER OF THE PSOE HE COULD NOT DO OTHERWISE. BUT HE WOULD BE IN THE MINORITY AND WOULD GLADLY ACCEPT THE DECISION OF THE MAJORITY. THE MONARCHY WOULD THEN HAVE ITS DEMOCRATIC LEGITIMACY TO REPLACE THE HIGHLY QUESTIONABLE LEGITIMACY BESTOWED BY FRANCO.
AS FOR NATIONAL UNITY, WHILE THERE WOULD BE ADVOCACY ON THE RIGHT OF AN UNCOMPROMISINGLY UNITARY AND CENTRALIZED STATE AND BY THE PSOE AND THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS OF FEDERALISM, THE BROADLY ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE WOULD BE CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISION FOR REGIONAL AUTONOMY AND SOME DEVOLUTION OF FISCAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE POWERS WITHIN A UNITARY STATE. THE PSOE, CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND MAJOR REGIONAL GROUPS WOULD ACCEPT THIS, HE SAID, AND THE BASIS FOR CENTER PERIPHERY POLITICAL STABILITY WOULD BE ESTABLISHED. WITHOUT SUCH AN AGREEMENT THE CATALAN AND PARTICULARLY

BASQUE PROBLEMS WOULD BE INSOLUBLE.

6. SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENTS. GONZLAEZ CONTINUES TO SEE THE PSOE RECEIVING "90 PER CENT OF THE SOCIALIST VOTE" WITH 18-WT PER CENT OF THE TOTAL. THE PARTY HAS GROWN RAPDILY IN RECENT MONTHS AS AS THE RESULT OF THE INFLUX OF MORE MODERATE MEMBERS. THE BASE HAS MOVED SOMEWHAT TOWARD THE CENTER LEFT. EVEN SO, GONZALEZ ADDED, IF SUAREZ SUCCEMBED TO THE "MEXICAN TEMPTATION" IT RADICALIZE THE PSOE, PROBABLY REDUCING ITS VOTE TO PERHAPS 15 PER CENT, BUT ALSO UNDERMINING THE ENTIRE
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PROCESS.

7. LABOR AND THE UNIONS. THE GOVT SIMPLY DOES NOT KNOWN HOW TO DEAL WITH ISSUE OF LABOR FREEDOMS OR THE NEED FOR THE FORMATION OF STRONG, RELATIVELY MODERATE UNIONS. SO LONG AS THE GOVT CONTINUES TO HOLD ON TO THE PATRIMONY OF THE OLD SYNDICAL ORGANZIATION (ALTHOUGH HE DID INDICATE SOME MOVEMENT HERE WITH RESPECT TO THE UGT), IT WILLPREENT THE SOIALIST UGT AND OTHER DEMOCRATIC UNIONS FROM POSSESSING THE RESOURCES NECESSARY TO ATTRACT THE MASS OF MODERATE WORKERS WHO WILL SIGN ON AS THE RESULT OF THE SERVICES THE UNIONS ARE ABLE TO PROVIDE. AS LONG AS THE UNIONS ARE ABLE TO PROVIDE. AS LONG AS THE UNIONS ARE UNABLE TO DO SO, THEY WILL REMAIN RELATIVELY WEAK AND RADICAL AND WILL BE UNRELIABLE INTERLOCUTORS FOR MANAGEMENT, SINCE UNION MEMBERSHIP WILL TEND TO BE SMALL AND LIMITED TO THE NUCLEUS OF MORE POLITICIZED WORKERS.

8. PCE CYNICISM. GONZALEZ HAD PARTICULARLY HARD WORDS FOR PCE SCGEN CARRILO'S POLITICAL OPPORTUNISM IN PROFESSING LAST WEEK THE COMMUNISTS CONDITIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE MONARCHY AND THEIR "CONTINUING DEFNSE OF THE UNITY OF THE FATHERLAND" (MADRID 2992). GONZALEZ UNDERSTANDABLY VIEWED THIS A CYNICAL ATTEMPT ON CARRILLO'S PART TO ASURE THE KING AND SUAREZ THAT THE PCE IS ON BOARD WITH RESPECT TO TWO ISSUES OF GREATEST CONCERN TO THEM (AND THE MILITARY). GONZALEZ VIEWED THIS EPSIODE AS A SHAM AND AS TESTIMONY TO THE CONTINUING DICTATORIAL PRACTICES OF THE PCE, WHRE HE SAW CARRILLO AS VERY MUCH IN CHARGE.

9. COMMENT: GONZALEZ WAS QUITE CANDID ABOUT THE PSOE'S LACK OF CONTACT WITH THE GOVT SINCE LATE FEBRUARY, AND HIS PRIVATE REASSURANCS AND EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN MESSAGES TO THE PRIME MINISTER AS WELL. THE MODERATE TONE AND SUBSTANCE OF HIS REMARKS WERE CONSISTENT WITH THE PSOE'S ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN POSTURE GENERALLY WHICH
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ACCORDING TO GONZALEZ, HAS BEEN VERY WELL RECEIVED BY THE
RANK AND FILE). IT REMAINS TO BE DEMONSTRATED, HOWEVER,
WHETHER THIS IS A TACIC OR AN EVOLUTION WHICH WILL STICK. STABLER

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Message Attributes

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TAGS: PINT, SP, US, (GONZALEZZ, FELIPE)
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